

The Irish famine



by Vasco Purser

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There's a proud array of soldiers, what do they
round your door?

They guard our masters granaries from the thin
hands of the poor.

'Speranza', The Famine Year.

INTRODUCTION

We are familiar with the terrible images of starving people from the famine torn areas of Africa today. Yet 150 years ago those skeletal figures would have been seen in Ireland. Between 1845 and 1850 over one million people had died of starvation and the diseases



that come in its wake. A further one million had fled to Britain, North America and beyond on the notorious 'coffin ships'. A new population census taken in 1851 revealed that one fifth of the population had either died or emigrated. Some commentators, such as Kevin Myers of the *Irish Times*, claim the Irish famine was simply a natural disaster.

Yet the whole of Ireland was then a part of the United Kingdom, the centre of the world's wealthiest empire. This pamphlet aims to give a brief view of what happened, and to look at the response of both Government and Irish

politicians to the suffering. Was it really a natural disaster caused by the failure of the potato crop? Or was the famine the result of the free market and the drive for profit?

IRELAND BEFORE THE FAMINE

In the closing decades of the [18th] century, Ireland's economic prospects seemed attractive' according to one historian.¹ However with the Act of Union in 1800 which abolished the Dublin Parliament, Ireland's fledgling capitalism was exposed to competition from the industrial towns of Britain. Tariffs on imports were reduced to 10%.² By the 1820s Irish industry was almost wiped out. The town of Bandon for example, which had once employed thousands of weavers had less than a hundred by the 1840s.³ Ireland became predominantly an agricultural supplier for the expanding British capitalism and the Empire.

Landlords dominated both Irish agriculture and politics. The Earl of Lucan for example owned over 60,000 acres. Trinity College had over 12,500 tenants on its estates.⁴

Over 80% of people lived on the land. In 1841 a population census put Ireland's population at over eight million, nearly 40% of the UK's population. Nearly half of all agricultural holdings were smaller than five acres, a further 27% were between five and fifteen acres.⁵ Ireland was then a predominantly tillage country. In better agricultural areas, where labourers were needed all year round, 'cottiers' would get a small plot of land to support themselves on in return for their work. In Leinster for example, one quarter of all holdings were under one acre. The potato, with its prolific yields for a small area was the staple diet of cottiers.

In more marginal soils a system of 'conacre' was

more common. Casual and seasonal labourers rented annually enough land to grow one years crop of potatoes. They were subject to eviction at any time. In Connaught nearly three quarters of holdings were under five acres

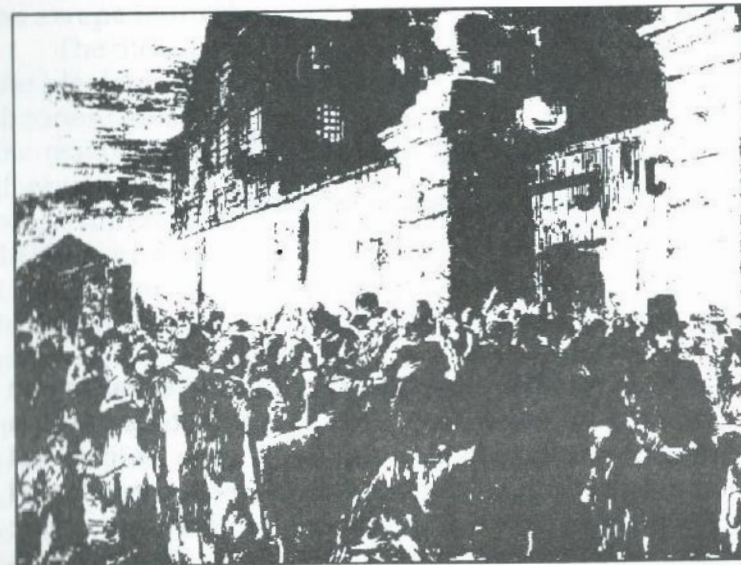
The potato was mainly grown for consumption, not for sale. Yet Irish agriculture was predominantly commercial not subsistence, as one historian puts it, 'In normal pre-famine circumstances Ireland was feeding its own farm population, a relatively large population in Irish towns and cities and exporting one quarter of its output to Britain. Irish agriculture fed in the region of nine to ten million people in pre-famine times'.⁶

The potato only accounted for one third of the acreage under crops. Other crops were sold to pay rents. Up to one half of landlords were absentee—did not live on their estates.⁷ Karl Marx estimated that in 1836 £7m was sent abroad to absentee landlords.⁸ Many left the day to day running of their estates to an agent, who often rented land to middlemen, who would sublet again creaming off a profit.

Poverty was widespread. In Tullahobagly, Co Donegal the 9000 inhabitants had only 10 beds, 93 chairs and 243 stools between them.⁹ The German revolutionary Frederick Engels commented on a Government report into poverty, "these people live in the most wretched clay huts, scarcely good enough for cattle pens, have scant food all winter long, or as the report expresses it, they have half enough potatoes thirty weeks in the year, and the rest of the year nothing. When the time comes in the spring at which this provision reaches its end...the wife and children go out to beg and tramp the country ... the husband, after planting potatoes for the next year, goes in search of work in Ireland or England, and returns at the potato harvest to his family".¹⁰

Before the Famine, 50,000 people were arriving in Liverpool every year seeking work.

In the summer of 1845 a new disease swept across



much of Europe, destroying the potato harvest in places like Belgium and Kent in England. Caused by a fungus, *phytophthora infestans*, or potato 'blight' it thrives in damp mild conditions, rotting both the leaves and turning the potato itself into an inedible mush. By September it had appeared in Ireland, and returned almost every year until 1850.

But why was the blight to be so devastating in Ireland? Elsewhere in Europe the blight caused hardship and hunger, but not the appalling loss of life that struck Ireland. The main difference lay in the fact that Ireland was a part of the British Empire and a victim to the economic policies of the British ruling class.

FREE MARKET CAPITALISM

With the growth of industrial capitalism in Britain came new economic theorists. Led by the Scotsman Adam Smith they developed a theory known as political economy. It argued that the free market in goods and labour could solve all problems, and that the state should not interfere with the economy. Poverty was not the results of low wages or high rents, but came from 'idleness' and lack of moral fibre.

Edmund Burke summed up their view in 1795 when advising the then Prime Minister against assisting those in poverty "it is not by breaking the laws of commerce, which are the laws of nature, and consequently the laws of God, that we are to place our hope of softening the divine displeasure to remove any calamity under which we suffer".¹¹

Neatly dovetailing with these theories were the population theories of Thomas Malthus. He argued that population growth outstrips food production and that periodically there would inevitably be crises such as famines or plague which would reduce population back into line with resources. To him any form of social welfare, or 'relief' as it was called, was both useless and counterproductive. Useless as it would encourage 'idleness' and counterproductive as it would also encourage 'profligacy' and 'reckless' breeding by the poor which would just hasten the time when population would have to 'readjust' into line with resources.

Writing on Ireland before the Famine, Malthus wrote: "to give full effect to the natural resources of the country, a greater part of the people should

be swept from the soil".¹²

The theories of free market capitalism had become the ideology of Britain's ruling class. Yet despite these theories, those in government also had to deal with the reality of mass poverty in both Britain and Ireland. If poverty were to get out of hand, it could lead to social unrest and revolution. Indeed, in Britain in the 1830s there was a wave of riots and rent revolts. Trade Unions were being set up. The Chartists, led by an Irishman Fergus O'Connor were demanding democracy and organising powerful general strikes.

After introducing a new Poor Law in England in 1834, the Government turned its attention towards Ireland. Rather than improving the position of tenants, developing fisheries or draining land which would have eased the situation, they saw Ireland as a kind of Malthusian case study, as chronically overpopulated by a pauperised uncivilised people. Even the potato was viewed with suspicion:

"The little industry called for to rear the potato, and its prolific growth, leave the people to indolence and all kinds of vice, which habitual labour and a higher order of food would prevent".¹³

They wanted a shake up in Irish agriculture and society. Parliamentary select committees had recommended state assisted emigration, but these were shelved as too costly. The man who designed the Irish Poor law of 1838 said it would help bring about the changes the government wanted: "to change Ireland from being a country of small holdings, low productivity and absentee landlords, to one in which the holdings would be consolidated, the labourers would become wage earners, and men of energy and capital would take an interest in their estates" these "were the necessary prerequisites for the introduction of capital into Ireland".¹⁴

The occurrence of the potato blight in Ireland was seen by economists as an opportunity to remould the country according to their interests. One clear way in which this was shown was in the administration of

"relief".

Ireland was divided into 130 poor law unions, each to have its own workhouse. The workhouses, like in England, were deliberately designed to be brutal, the regime was to be harsher than life for the lowest paid labourer. Families were split up, the food and diet was deliberately monotonous and inferior and the work was to be 'irksome'.

The running costs were to be met by the local ratepayers. Landlords were to pay rates on all holdings valued at under £4 a year. This was designed to put pressure on landlords to consolidate, by evicting their smaller tenants.

Construction of the workhouses was barely completed when disaster first struck.

THE FAMINE

A third of the potato crop was destroyed in 1845. Areas such as Antrim Down and Waterford were badly hit. The serious implications were quickly recognised. A Mansion House committee in Dublin recommended that food exports should be halted.

Charles Gavin Duffy wrote that "more than a third of the potato crop throughout the island is gone, in some districts more than half and at the same time the bulk of the remaining supplies, cattle and corn, butter, beef and pork, which would have fed all the inhabitants, continued to be exported to England, to pay the rent..."¹⁵ The Governments of Belgium, Turkey and Sweden had halted grain exports in response to the blight.

By the Spring of 1846 severe hunger was beginning to set in. A Government relief commission, made up of Government, Army and Police officials set up Public Works, rather than distribute food to the hungry. Those on the relief schemes were forced to work for 6 to 8 shillings a week, barely enough for a single person to survive. The employment given was designed to be unproductive so as not to interfere with private enterprise. 'Roads were laid out which led from nowhere to nowhere, canals were dug into which not a drop of water ever flowed, piers were constructed which the Atlantic storms at once began to wash away'.¹⁶

People began to move towards the towns and the Government grain stores. An American traveller, Asenath Nicholson wrote: "to those who have never watched the progress of protracted hunger; it might be

proper to say, that persons will live for months, and pass through different stages and life will struggle to maintain her lawful hold, if occasional scanty supplies are given, till the walking skeleton becomes in a state of inanity."¹⁷

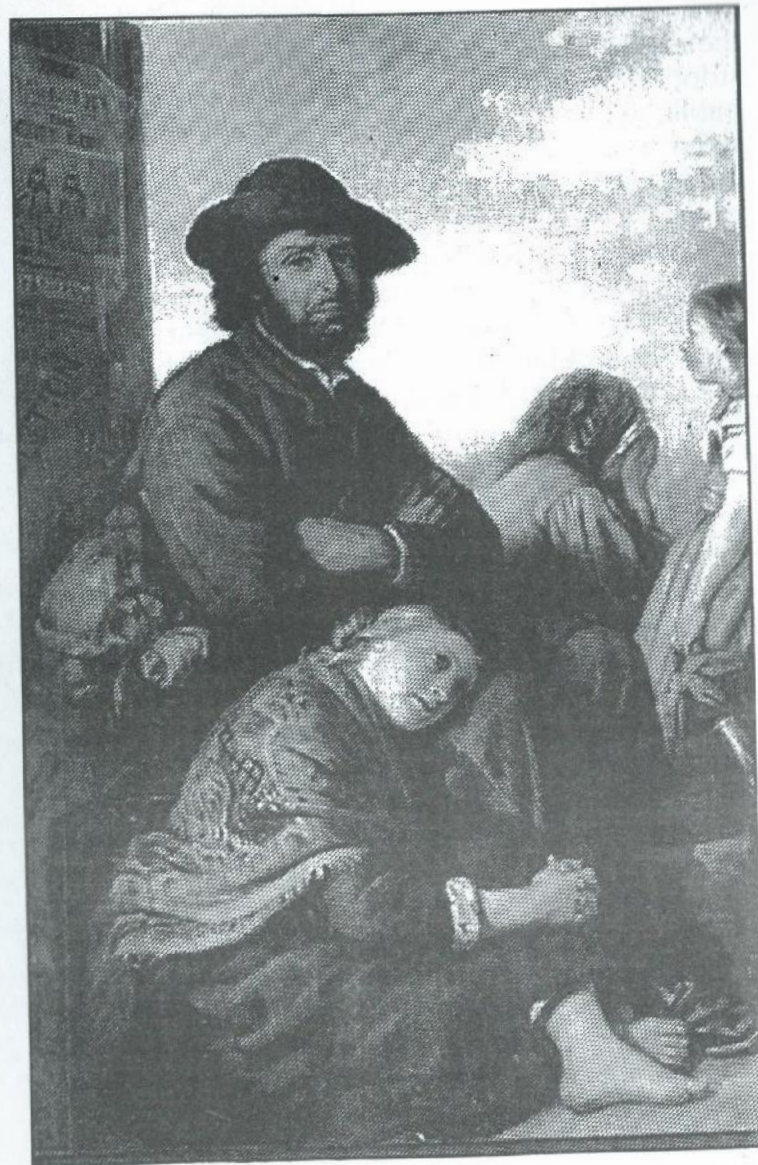
Great hopes were held out for the next harvest, but by July signs of the blight were everywhere. The 1846 crop was completely destroyed, one visitor observed that: "The picture is a truly melancholy one, for since last Wednesday this green country has become black. I did not see one green field of potatoes in the west...every field is gone."

Desperation set in, prices spiralled. A Co Wicklow diarist, Elizabeth Smith wrote "Provisions are rising with every market, thus the large farmer is doing well, his produce selling for three times the price of an ordinary year...the small farmer is ruined."¹⁸

An official from the British Association charity visited Ireland to see if the reports of the crisis were exaggerated as the Times claimed. 'No pen can describe the distress by which I am surrounded ...you may now believe anything you hear or read, because what I actually see surpasses what I ever read of past and present calamities'.¹⁹

Yet the government refused to reopen its grain stores, saying that private enterprise should fill the gap in the market. The state did not want to purchase grain for fear it would raise the price on the London market.

Yet the reason people were starving was that they had no money, and additionally, large parts of Ireland had no network of merchants or traders. The parish priest of Hollymount in Co Mayo wrote "...deaths I regret to say, innumerable are occurring every day...the pampered officials ...removed as they are from these scenes of heartrending distress, can have no idea of them and don't appear to give themselves much trouble about them—I ask them in the name of humanity, is this state of society to continue and who are those responsible for these monstrous evils."²⁰



Even the Dublin Relief Commission remonstrated with the new Liberal Government under Lord John Russell: 'you cannot answer the cry of want with a quotation from political economy'.²¹

By January 1847 over 570,000 were employed on

the public works. The wages, now hopelessly outstripped by inflation were changed to piece rate. The public works system began to break down under the strain. The Cabinet complained about the cost, yet the level of suffering continued to rise. A Co Clare official wrote "I must confess myself unmanned by the intensity and extent of the suffering I witnessed more especially among the women and little children, crowds of whom were to be seen scattered over the turnip fields like a flock of famished crows, devouring the raw turnips, mothers half naked, shivering in the snow and sleet, uttering exclamations of despair while their children were screaming with hunger".²²

In early 1847 William Bennett described his visit to Belmullet: 'We entered a cabin, stretched in one dark corner, scarcely visible, from the smoke and rags that covered them, were three children huddled together, lying there because they were too weak to rise, pale and ghastly, their little limbs perfectly emaciated, eyes sunk, voice gone and evidently in the last stage of actual starvation. Crouched over the turf embers was another form, wild and all but naked, scarcely human in appearance. It stirred not, nor noticed us.....we entered upwards of fifty of these tenements. The scene was one and invariable, differing in little but the number of the sufferers'.²³

Bodies were buried in famine pits -mass graves, or buried at the roadside where they had collapsed.

The public works schemes were wound up in the Spring of 1847, and were replaced as a temporary measure by Soup kitchens, until a new Outdoor Relief system was organised. By July over three million people were being fed at the soup kitchens daily. In Ballinrobe, 93% of the population depended on them. Despite their success they were wound up as soon as the outdoor relief schemes were ready.

The potato harvest of 1847 largely escaped the blight, but due to a lack of seed potatoes only one tenth the normal acreage was planted. As people moved to the towns in search of food and help, diseases spread.

As the workhouses were full destitute people were given 'Outdoor' relief, such as breaking stones in return for help. Skibereen workhouse, built to hold 800, had 2800 inmates. Carrick-on-Shannon workhouse reported 50 deaths a week. By early 1848 445,000 were on outdoor relief, by June the figure had reached 834,000. Yet the government had all but declared the Famine over. The chief civil servant in the treasury, Charles Trevelyan received a knighthood.

Despite the renewed confidence in the potato, the 1848 crop was totally destroyed by the blight. Evictions and emigration which had been gathering pace, spiralled. The government washed its hands of the Famine, saying that all relief must be paid for locally, summed up in the phrase 'Irish property must support Irish poverty'. By June of 1849 227,000 people were in workhouses and a further 784,000 were on relief. The chief poor law commissioner resigned, stating before the house of Lords.

"I wish to leave distinctly on record that from want of sufficient food, many persons... are at present dying or wasting away; and, at the same time it is quite possible for this country to prevent the occurrence of any deaths from starvation, by the advance of a few hundred pounds, say a small part of the expense of the Coffre war".²⁴

RELIEF MEASURES

The Relief operations were tightly controlled by the Treasury in London. Despite all the different relief schemes two main threads ran through Government policy.

The first was a strict adherence to free-market dogma. Every piece of intervention was kept at a minimum in case it ran against market forces. In 1845 the Government purchased Indian corn or maize, it was chosen as it was cheap and was not usually traded in Ireland so as not to upset grain merchants. The food depots were closed when news of the second failure began to emerge in 1846, the soup kitchens, the one effective piece of relief was only used as a stop gap. Private charities stepped in to fill the gap, organisations such as the Quakers ran soup kitchens for most of the famine, and helped people redeem pawned fishing nets etc. Donations to charities tended to dwindle, as images of the suffering as helpless victims easily turned into famine 'fatigue'.

The second thread running through government policy was to turn the famine to their advantage and to use the opportunity to force through the restructuring they desired. In 1847 a Quarter Acre Clause denied relief to anyone in possession of more than a quarter acre of land. Nicknamed the 'Eviction made easy' clause, as many in desperation gave up their tenancies so as to be entitled to help. From early 1848 the government abandoned any responsibility for the relief of the famine, making landlords pay the full cost of those measures that were taken. This was to put pressure on landlords to 'clear' their estates, either through mass evic-

tions, or assisted emigration. This was followed up by an Encumbered Estates Act designed to push landlords who were either bankrupt or in debt to sell up.

In Kilrush Co Clare 30 cabins were being demolished a day, after their tenants had been evicted. The Chancellor of the exchequer, Sir Charles Wood wrote to an Irish landlord, **"I am not at all appalled by your tenantry going...that seems to me a necessary part of the process"**.²⁵ Charles Trevelyan was even more candid, **"I do not know how farms are to be consolidated if small farmers do not emigrate....and by acting for the purpose of keeping them at home we should be defeating our own object. We must not complain of what we really want to obtain. If small farmers go, and then landlords are induced to sell portions of their estates to persons who will invest capital, we shall at last arrive at something like a satisfactory settlement of the country."**²⁶

Writing shortly after the Famine the master of Balliol College Oxford, Benjamin Jowett commented "I have always had a certain horror of political economists since I heard one say that the Famine in Ireland would not kill more than a million people and that would scarcely be enough to do much good."²⁷

EMIGRATION

Emigration became the only means of escape from the horror. In 1846 106,000 left, this doubled the following year. Yet emigration itself was not an end to the nightmare. Diseases travelled too on the over-crowded ships. One in every nine passengers who set sail from Cork to North America died on the journey. James Connolly described one voyage in his book *Labour in Irish History*:

"On 2 December 1848, a steamer left Sligo with 220 steerage passengers on board bound for Liverpool. On that bleak northwestern coast such a passage is at all times rough, and storms are both sudden and fierce. Such a storm came on during the night, and as the unusual number of passengers crowded the deck the crew unceremoniously and brutally drove them below decks and battened down the hatches to prevent their re-emergence. In the best of weather the steerage of such a coasting vessel is, even when empty of human freight, foul, suffocating and unbearable; the imagination fails to realise what it must have been on that awful night when 200 poor wretches were driven into its depth.

"To add to the horror, when some of the more desperate beat upon the hatches and demanded release, the mate, in a paroxysm of rage, ordered tarpaulin to be thrown across the opening to stifle their cries. It did stifle their cries, it also excluded the air and the light, and there in that inferno those 200 human beings fought, struggled and gasped for air while the elements warred outside and the frail tub of a ship was tossed upon the surface of the waters.

"...Out of the 200 passengers battened below decks, 72, more than a third of the entire number, had ex-

pired, suffocated for want of air or mangled to death in the blind struggle of despair in the darkness."²⁸

The tenants of a Roscommon landlord were put on ships bound for Quebec. One of the boats, the *Virginus*, set out with 476 people on board; when it reached Canada 158 were dead, including 9 of the crew. The Foreign Secretary, Lord Palmerston, who owned a large estate in Co Sligo was publicly denounced by the authorities in New Brunswick for the conditions 2000 of his tenants travelled in.

Thousands also died in quarantine. In the Irish slums of Boston, 60% of children died before the age of five.²⁹

Emigration continued long after the worst years of the famine were over. It reached a peak in 1853 when 369,000 emigrated, roughly 5% of the population. By 1901 Ireland's population had shrunk to four and a half million. Most of the emigrants were young and uniquely in Europe the majority were women. By the end of the Famine 22% of Liverpool's inhabitants were Irish, 18% in Glasgow, 13% in Manchester and 5% in London.

RESISTANCE AND BETRAYAL

The Famine years were not just met with passivity by the Irish population. Acts of resistance took place which cried out for political leadership. Hundreds marched on the House of Lord Sligo in Westport. In Macroom and Killarney protests were held. Troops were sent to protect fields of crops and ports. Riots occurred outside food depots, troops were used to assist in evictions. In 1847 seven landlords were shot at. Notices appeared urging people not to pay rent, while many landlords received threatening letters. Yet these all lacked a focus and unity. Thirty years later a series of bad harvests and an agricultural slump in 1879 threatened many with another famine. This time the Land League was able to provide sufficient leadership to the protest movements and the Government was forced to introduce a Land Act.

Ireland's politicians, both conservative and radical, failed to meet the challenge of the famine years. The majority, led by Daniel O'Connell had pinned their hopes on the Liberal party and its leader Lord John Russell, who presided over government policy for most of the famine.

O'Connell advocated "moral force", but pleading to the British ruling class made no difference whatsoever to their policy in Ireland. His desire not to confront Russell meant that O'Connell made no protest at the closure of the Relief Commission in 1846.

The radicals, known as the Young Irelanders after the revolutionary associations in Europe such as Young Italy and Young Switzerland, broke from O'Connell with the intention of acting more decisively. But they were

well described by James Connolly:

"The leaders of the Young Ireland party respond to and move along with the revolutionary current of events without ever being able to comprehend the depth and force of the stream upon whose surface they were embarked.³⁰....They discoursed learnedly in English to a starving people the most of whom knew only Irish, about the historical examples of Holland, Belgium, Poland and the Tyrol".³¹

Spurred on by the revolutions in Europe in 1848 they made plans for an insurrection in Ireland. Yet what they wanted was a national revolution including both landlords and tenants, not a social one, and so they cut themselves off from the very people who could have made the revolution a success. As Connolly put it, "everything had to be done in a 'respectable' manner, English army on one side, provided with guns bands and banners, Irish army on the other side, also provided with guns, bands and banners, serried ranks with glittering steel, no mere proletarian insurrection, and no interference with the rights of property".³²

In Mullinahone, Tipperary, for example, William Smith O'Brien instructed his supporters not to cut down trees for barricades, as they had not the permission of the landowners. Not surprisingly the movement ended in a fiasco.

A few of the Young Irelanders, such as John Mitchel and Fintan Lalor, saw the need for more than just a national revolution, but were unable to offer an alternative as they had no clear vision of the type of society they were fighting for.

Ironically, the best example of opposition to British policy in Ireland was provided by the Chartists in Britain. Chartism was a working class movement for the reform of parliament. At its height it encompassed millions of workers, including hundreds of thousands of Irish immigrants.

The British authorities and propertied classes were confronted with a struggle which at times took on revolutionary dimensions. For example, in 1838 Chartists

organised a general strike in Manchester involving a quarter of a million people.

As workers took up the fight for political change they also challenged the wider values of their employers. The Northern Star, the Chartist's main paper, edited by Fergus O'Connor argued against Britain's right to have an Empire:

"We have no colonies, our aristocracy and merchants possess colonies all over the world, but the people of England do not possess a sod of ground in their country, much less in any other."

With the eventual decline of the Chartist movement the British government were able to pursue their ruinous policies for Ireland unchecked.

CONCLUSION

The whole of the west, especially in the neighbourhood of Galway is covered with ruined peasant houses, most of which have been deserted since 1846, I never thought that famine could have such tangible results.—Engels, on a visit to Ireland in 1856.³³

The Famine produced many long term effects, Karl Marx grasped the essentials, writing in a German newspaper: 'Irish society is being radically transformed by an Anglo-Saxon revolution. In the course of this revolution the Irish agricultural system is being replaced by the English system, the system of small tenures by big tenures and the modern capitalist is taking the place of the old landowner.'³⁴

Under the Encumbered Estates Act over a quarter of all land changed hands. Tillage was replaced by pasture, tenants were 'cleared' to make way for livestock. The landless labourer, hardest hit by famine deaths, was no longer in demand, rural life became less mobile and more stable. Land was passed on to the eldest son only, marriage ages went up, and the strong farmer class grew. All these laid the basis for a much more conservative country, in which the church could begin to dominate, a stranglehold which is only now breaking down.

It was the potato blight that sparked the Famine, but the suffering which ensued was not a natural disaster. It flowed from a vicious system of landholding, and the priorities of capitalism. In all the Government spent £8m on the Irish famine, over half of that in loans to be repaid. This compares with £83m spent in

one year alone during the Napoleonic wars, or the £69m spent in the 1850s on a war in the Crimea

Today, every ten days the western powers spend \$20billion on arms, yet UNICEF reckons that if just \$10 were spent on each child per year malnutrition would be halved. Our planet bulges with food, yet millions are starving. The excuses given for doing nothing are the same ones used in Ireland 150 years ago, that aid is inappropriate, it only produces a dependency culture, that it doesn't reach the right people and that it's their own fault anyway

Yet today, if anything the situation is even more tragic, we now understand the diseases, their causes and how to treat them. With modern transport and communications food can be brought anywhere in the world within hours. Yet millions die needless agonising deaths for the sake of profit. The Irish Famine of the 1840s is not just part of history it can be seen repeated on our TV screens daily.

The Irish government is reluctant to face the issues raised by the famine, for they share the same capitalist values possessed by the British government 150 years ago. The Dáil committee has put off official commemorations of the famine to 1997.

There is also a grouping of "revisionist" historians whose views have evolved in order to blunt criticism of British policy towards Ireland. They are taking advantage of the desire for peace in Ireland to argue that historians should study the local impact of the famine and not raise the question of British responsibility.

But no amount of concentration on detail should obscure the fundamental point—that the needs of British capitalism turned the potato blight into a genocidal horror for the people of Ireland. The aim of this criticism is not to enter into argument about British or Irish "identity" but to make a point about class.

It was the British ruling class who benefited from the famine in Ireland. It was the development of modern agriculture and the logic of the market that drove people from their means of subsistence.

Ordinary British workers did not gain from this state of affairs, they lost out. Irish immigration on the massive scale of the famine years and the division it caused in the working class benefited only the employers. That is why the best organised working class movement, the Chartists, demanded self-rule for Ireland.

The main lesson to draw from the famine is not a nationalist one, but a socialist one. The right of oppressed nations to self-rule is a simple principle which all socialists support. But on its own independence does not challenge market values. It is the logic of the market that leads tiny elite groupings in every country to take decisions that ruin peoples lives. The post-apartheid situation in South Africa today is an important example. The demands of big business have prevented the ANC from being able to alleviate poverty in the black townships.

Creating new political structures in Northern Ireland will make little difference to people either in the Shankill or the Falls, so long as the employers still rule over a low wage economy.

To really smash the logic of the market will require a revolution, one which leads to the working class running society. Workers have no interest in causing wars or failing to feed the hungry. A society based on worker's control would aim to meet peoples needs, irrespective of profits.

Compared to the mid-Nineteenth Century we are in a much stronger position to end famines and the other horrors of capitalism. The world's working class today is enormously powerful and more capable both of making a revolution and organising a better world.

The Socialist Worker's Party is committed to such a transformation of the world. If you agree with the points in this pamphlet, then join us.

Footnotes:

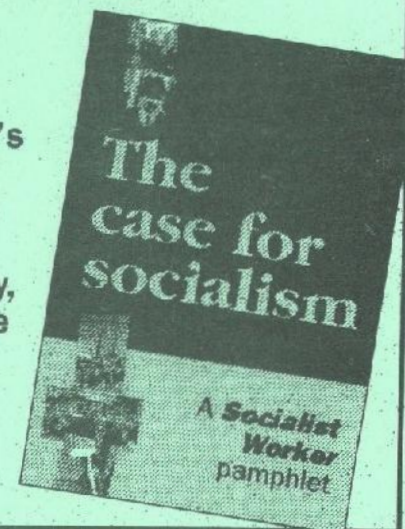
- 1 LM Cullen: *An Economic History of Ireland since 1660*, p97
- 2 Kieran Allen: *Is Southern Ireland a Neo Colony?* p12
- 3 Roy Foster: *Modern Ireland 1600-1972*, p321
- 4 Michael J Winstanley: *Ireland and the Land Question 1800-1937*, p16
- 5 JC Beckett: *The Making of Modern Ireland*
- 6 Mary E Daly: *The Famine in Ireland*, p24
- 7 Winstanley, p12
- 8 Allen, p12
- 9 Cecil Woodham Smith: *The Great Hunger*, p14
- 10 Frederiek Engels *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, p271
- 11 Quoted in Christine Kinealy, *This Great Calamity*, p8
- 12 Quoted in Christine Kinealy, *This Great Calamity*, p8
- 13 Quoted in Kineally, p52
- 14 Quoted in Kineally, p21
- 15 Quoted in PF Speed, *The Potato Famine and Irish Emigrants*, p24
- 16 Quoted in Woodham Smith, p24
- 17 Quoted in Helen Litton, *The Irish Famine, An Illustrated History*, p23
- 18 Quoted in Mary E Day, p63
- 19 Quoted in Woodham Smith, p165
- 20 Quoted in Liz Curtis, *The Cause of Ireland from the United Irishmen to Partition*, p45
- 21 Quoted in Kineally, p63
- 22 Quoted in Woodham Smith, p149
- 23 Quoted in Speed, p26
- 24 Quoted in Kineally, p263
- 25 Woodham Smith:, p369
- 26 Woodham Smith:, p369
- 27 Quoted in Kineally, p
- 28 James Connolly, *Labour in Irish History*, p132
- 29 Woodham Smith:, p25
- 30 Connolly, p133
- 31 Connolly, p131
- 32 Connolly, p134
- 33 In Marx and Engels, *On the Irish Question*
- 34 *ibid*

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